

The Policy of the United States in Regard to the Polish Revolution.

We find, says the *N. Y. Tribune*, in the *Independence Belge* of Brussels, of June 5th, the translation of a note of Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton respecting the Polish question. Not finding the original in any of our English papers, we have to rely on the French translation, and re-translate it into English:

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1861.

M. Mercier has read to me and at my request has left me a copy of a despatch, dated April 23d, which he has received from M. Drouyn de L'Hoy, and which refers to the important events now taking place in Poland and engaging the serious attention of the principal States of Western Europe. M. Mercier at the same time has communicated to me a copy of a despatch relative to the same events which has been addressed by M. Drouyn de L'Hoy to the Ambassador of France at St. Petersburg.

By the first of these documents we learn that the step taken by the Cabinet of Paris, with a view to exercising a moral influence upon His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, has received the approbation and the concurrence of the Cabinet of Vienna and London, and that the Emperor of the French, appreciating the value of our traditional sympathy for Poland on the one hand and our ancient friendship for Russia on the other, would be happy to obtain the co-operation of the Government of the United States in this important question.

Having taken counsel with the President, I am now able to communicate to you our views on this subject, for the information of M. Drouyn de L'Hoy.

The American Government is deeply sensible of this proof of the friendship of the Emperor of the French in asking its cooperation upon a subject doubly important in its relations to order and humanity. It has been no less favorably impressed with the sentiments which the Emperor Napoleon has expressed in so delicate a manner at St. Petersburg, and with the appeal which he has made to the noblest of human sympathies. The enlightened and humane character of the Emperor of Russia, which has recently shown itself in the liberation of so large a number of serfs in his domains, gives us the assurance that this appeal will be accepted, and that it will meet at St. Petersburg with all the good will compatible with the general well-being of the vast States which the Emperor of Russia governs with so much wisdom and moderation.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the so favorable reception which we are disposed to give to the suggestion of the Emperor of the French, the American Government finds an insurmountable difficulty in associating itself, by any active co-operation, with the Cabinets of Paris, London and Vienna, as it is requested.

Having founded our institutions upon the Rights of Man, the founders of our republic have always been regarded as political reformers, and it soon became evident that the revolutionists of all countries counted upon the effective sympathy of the United States, if not upon their active assistance and protection. Our noble Constitution had hardly been established, when it became indispensable for the Government of the United States to examine to what degree it was compatible with our security and well-being to interfere in the political affairs of foreign States, whether by an alliance or any concerted action with other powers, or otherwise. An urgent appeal of this kind was addressed to me with regard to France. This appeal was sanctioned by and acquired new strength from the treaty of alliance and mutual defense which then existed, and without which, it must be confessed to the honor of France, our sovereignty and independence would not have been so promptly secured.

This appeal touched so profoundly the heart of the American people, that it was only the deference felt for the father of his country, then at the apogee of his moral greatness, that compelled it to declare that, in view of the condition of the republic, of the character of its constituent parts, and especially the nature of its exceptional Constitution, the American people must confine itself to advancing the cause of progress in the world by exercising at home a wise power of self-government, but keeping aloof from all foreign alliance, intervention or interference.

It is true that Washington believed that a time would come when, our institutions being firmly consolidated and working harmoniously, we might safely take part in the deliberations of foreign powers, to the general advantage of all nations. Since that time, many occasions have arisen for departing from a rule which, at the first glance, might seem to be an inevitable cause of isolation. One was an invitation to join the Congress of the Spanish States of America, then just liberated. Another was the urgent appeal of Hungary to aid her in the recovery of her ancient and illustrious independence. Still another, the project to guarantee Cuba to Spain, conjointly with France and Great Britain. More recently, the invitation to cooperate with Spain, France and Great Britain in Mexico; and later still, the proposition of some of the Spanish American States to establish an international council for the republican States of this Continent. All these suggestions were, in succession, declined by our Government, and this decision was each time approved by the judgment of the American people. Our policy of non-intervention, however rigorous and absolute it may appear to others, has thus become a traditional policy, which ought not to be abandoned, except upon urgent occasions of a manifest necessity. It would be still less wise to deviate from it when a local, though we hope transitory insurrection, deprives our Government of the advice of one part of the American people, to which so grave a deviation from the established policy would be far from being indifferent.

The President does not doubt a moment that the Emperor Napoleon will see a proof of the deference for him and the French people, as well as a desire to cooperate for the maintenance of peace and the progress of humanity in Europe, in this fidelity to our traditional policy, the observance of which has contributed to our security, and we hope also to the interests of humanity.

The *Europe* publishes the substance of the reply of Prince Gortschakoff, which is addressed, not to the Russian Minister in Washington, but to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in order thus to be at liberty to publish it at once in the official paper of St. Petersburg. "Prince Gortschakoff," the *Europe* says, "expresses, in the name of the Emperor, his august master, the satisfaction and the gratitude which the heart of his Majesty has felt by seeing the Imperial policy and intentions so well appreciated by the American people. He refers, by the way, to revolutions, their doctrines, and the consequences which they bring inevitably in their train, and he expresses his wish for the pacification of the American Republic."